/150 cont./

648 466 He does nothing for the white without /151/ pay, and ordinarily he wants it in advance. The truth is that, as a rule, he does not deny his debts to the civilized; many times, however, he maintains that he has done more work and reduces his debts, in spite of the fact that the contrary appears in the entries made with precision and conscientiousness. He frequently lets the time go by, and sometimes he moves away or dies; and that is the end of that. The parents, brothers, children, or other relatives of someone who passed away, let us say in the mission hospital will present themselves at once as legitimate heirs to the shotgun, hammock, suitcase, or other objects belonging to the dead person. No one, however, becomes responsible for the debts of the deceased.

428

648 466 In order to have them at his service, at the time of the seringa or the Brazil nut, the civilized must pay them in advance. It not infrequently happens that at the time of the work (fábrico, as is said in Amazonas) the Indian hides; or runs away after working for a time.

431 648 He does not give gifts to the civilized, even though he has received many from him. He sells to him (17).

17. Episodes going so far as to be comic are told. A father, with the family, came to visit his son, who was a student at the Mission in Taracuá, and brought with him dried fish and beijú /manioc bread/. And, squatting in a corner, they ate, as on a family picnic. Before leaving, however, he came to charge the Missionary the price of the fish and the beijú.

123 431 At the time of our first excursion to the Içana, in 1953, accompanied by Pe. José Schneider, the latter took with him, among his helpers, a tuxaua of the Mapatse-dákenei (Yuruparí-tapúia) tribe. Like the others, he

/407 cont./

592 Frequently, the mother who has been widowed, or some single or orphaned relative, might live as added to a family, or, better, incorporated into it, and therefore the family group becomes larger than the family. As we shall see (VIII -- 2), the local group was originally constituted by the family, therefore being identical with the family group. The need for defense and help with the work (construction of the maloca, fishing, etc.) is what favored the local or family group over the isolated family.

On the other hand, among the Uaupesina nations there are some factors that strengthen the family organization or group:

593 428 1st. -- In first place there are the instinct and the right of ownership. There are, indeed, some goods (canoes, hut, pottery, etc.) that constitute family property and pass to the children as an inheritance.

593 583 2nd. -- As among the primitive Romans, the Uaupesino fathers have an exaggerated power over the children. This pátria potéstas reserves exclusively for the father the matrimonial negotiations, through the exchange of the maidens, as wives, from one tribe to another, and, moreover, strengthens the family regime.

3rd. -- Besides the exchange of the daughters, there is also in force an offering of nuptial gifts to the father of the future wife. These gifts, in turn, consolidate the paternal power and the family regime.

593 /408/ 4th. -- The nonexistence of a strong and organized political power is, in turn, an effect and cause of the increase of the paternal powers and a factor of consolidation of the family group.

a) Marriage.

581 We have already pointed out that among all these tribes marriage is a social institution that aims immediately (and it would perhaps not be exaggerated to say exclusively) at the perpetuation of the group. It is the group that is primarily interested in its 582 realization, not the individuals who marry, since their inclinations

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib.

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up.

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills.

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually.

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill.

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use it, and, as the others do, he shares his catch with the community. Weir sites are inherited by a son so that there is some tendency for this specialty in fishing to descend in certain families and not in others.

In objects there are two main kinds of property rights, those of the community and those of the individual. Community rights are in all objects made for public use by the headman or his wife, such as a large canoe, great chicha urns, the manioc oven, the sugar cane press, and guest benches. Of a somewhat less public nature are ceremonial objects and musical instruments also made by the headman or by an aspirant to his office. The first group of objects are fully in the public domain and subject to constant use. The second group are in the possession of their maker and are brought out by him alone on the proper occasion. Full individual ownership resides in all other personal possessions: household utensils, canoes, weapons, trinkets and ornaments, all trade goods from Europeans, and items of clothing. Disposition of these objects is subject entirely to the discretion of the owner.

Infants also own property and their rights are more or less respected. Sometimes a planting is set in an infant's name by the parent or grandparent. A mother commonly dedicates a brood of chicks to her nursing child. The feeling is that, as with ornaments, possessions confer human status. That is, a person should own things. If the child is old enough to understand possession it assumes charge, more or less, otherwise its possessions are administered by its mother. I have negotiated, for example, the purchase of chickens owned by children. In one instance a mother prevailed upon her little boy to sell me a chicken. After the sale was made, however, the child wailed miserably so that I felt obliged to make him a gift of it. His mother kept the purchase price and announced that she owed the child the value of the chicken. When the child does not understand the transaction, its mother announces publicly the facts of ownership and her intentions to make restitution.

The attitude of the Cubeo toward personal possessions is best described as casual. They are not indifferent to objects but they regard strongly proprietary feelings as improper. Their attitude toward ownership is governed by the important status principle that giving is honorific. Among sibmates objects circulate freely, the closer the tie between people the more active the exchanges. Sisters exchange ornaments and trinkets and men borrow freely from one another with or without permission. They seem to be most free with objects of economic utility, such as a canoe, weapons, implements, and somewhat

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more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

INHERITANCE

Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some personal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of ceremonial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the sci-
571 entific value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all
• [428] other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor, the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
61 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship, lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity, then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as "simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated